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During the latter part of the last century there was a transitional phase when neither the size of the gentry family nor its wealth determined its status: its influence derived mainly from its reputation or strength of character, we are told. In this century all Badaga families, whether gentry or not, have a prestige commensurate with their wealth: the unusually affluent family now receives the respect and wields the power of a gentry family even though it is not one.

Generally all the headmen and their key assistants belong to the gentry; and during the nineteenth century the British appointed *manegars* and *karnams* from among the gentry, too.[17] In the twentieth century, as we have seen, literacy was considered more important than birth in these appointments. In fact this century has witnessed a shift away from ascribed status towards achieved status. It is now becoming less relevant whether a man was born to the gentry or is a Ha:ruva or Torea than whether he has acquired college education and a good job. However, even though there are now signs of socio-economic classes emerging, rural Badagas do not yet discuss their social life in terms of such distinctions as landed/landless, wealthy/poor or educated/uneducated. Individuals are known to vary in these qualities but so far the variation is a matter of degree and has not been schematized in Badaga thinking into a series of neat dyadic contrasts.

In the operation of their social system today the Badagas recognize a dozen major criteria for social differentiation,[18] which they do conceive as the following dyadic contrasts:

(1) Man/woman
(2) Adult/child
(3) Nilgiri/non-Nilgiri
(4) Badaga/non-Badaga
(5) Gentry/non-gentry
(6) Lingayat/non-Lingayat
(7) Vegetarian/meat-eater
(8) Our phratry/other phratries
(9) Agnates/affines (or our clan/other clans)
(10) Our village/other villages
(11) Factional divisions
(12) Hindu/Christian.

This classification is one of cross-cutting categories: each person can place himself and everyone he normally interacts with on one side or the other of each category. These are at different levels of

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9. See above, pp. 166, 168. On the designation of Badagas as a caste, see Hockings, 1968 b, *passim*.

482 205 10. Ward, 1821, lxv; see above, p. 142. Until 1878 the mails were carried by teams of runners; Grigg, 1880, 408.

494 11. The district is unusually well endowed in this respect, for it is only the size of Warwickshire or Luxemburg and slightly smaller than Rhode Island State. From Ootacamund some of the major cities of South India are also served: Madurai, Salem, Mysore, Bangalore, Coimbatore, Palghat and Calicut (Kozhikode).

212 12. India, 1962, 133; Moses, 1964, 33, found 73% of Badaga males and 50% of females literate ($N = 200$). My sample in 1963 was 420.

177 13. There are a few who combine the business trip with a pilgrimage, but this is not usual.

178 14. This purposive sample was drawn from 656 interviews in the district.

177 207 15. $Chi^2 = 5.18$, $P < 0.03$. This middle-aged group had grown up during the slump which spanned the 1930s and which is reflected in the low food-grain prices of those years; see Madras, 1965, 37.

125 16. *manetana*, literally 'house-stage' or 'house-level'; compare Kannada *manetana*, translated as 'household,' 'race, family' by Kittel, 1894, 1207, the connotation being a family of worthy people.

128 17. Grigg, 1880, 366. These were village magistrates and clerks; see above, p. 172.

554 622 647 538 554 18. These social distinctions have over a century of history. They are crystallized in various proverbs as well as being universally recognized normative concepts. One proverb, for example, runs: 'Though it is hot water it will extinguish fire.' This refers to group loyalties: though we may have a friendship with a man of another lineage, village, faction, phratry or community, we will take the side of our own group against his when the need arises. Other proverbs relate to particular social distinctions, e.g., between one village and another:

'Even if he is headman of his own village, he is not superior to the son of the widow of the last house in another village.'

'If you are not cunning, do not go to Jakkatala; if you are poor, do not go to Ke:ti.'

E.g., between phratries.

'If a crow makes a dropping on you it is a bad sign; if a Ha:ruva shouts at you it is a bad sign.'

E.g., between affines and agnates:

'If brothers curse each other, one can still build his house on his brother's threshold; if in-laws curse, leave and run away.'

'Though she is our sister, is her husband ours?' (In a later work I plan to analyse some 1300 Badaga proverbs).

[p. 238 is blank]